MOTHER EARTH

Vol. VI. JUNE, 1911 No. 4

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Vol. VI **JUNE, 1911** **No. 4**

FREEDOM

By LOLA RIDGE.

Let men be free!
All violence is but the agony
Of caged things fighting blindly for the right
To be and breathe and burn their little hour.
Bare spirits—not bedight
In smooth-set garments of philosophy;
But near earth forces, elemental, crude,
Scarce knowing their invincible, rude power;
Within the close of their primeval servitude
Half comatose.

Who, ravening for their depleted dower
Of so much sun and air and warmth and food,
And the same right to procreate and love
As the beasts have and the birds,
Strike wild—not having words
To parry with—at the cold force above.

Let men be free!
Hate is the price
Of servitude, paid covertly; and vice
But the unclean recoil of tortured flesh
Whipped through the centuries within a mesh
Spun out of priestly art.
Oh men, arise, be free!—Who breaks one bar
Of tyranny in this so bitter star
Has cleansed its bitterness in part.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

IT is difficult to exclude a certain religious feature from the revolutionary movements. Some say "movement" and think of a metaphysical something that "moves" somewhere outside themselves. And when this movement, located in the vage outside, does not move, we also stop moving and remain intellectually on the same spot, failing to realize that we thus aid the very thing we complain of,—the immobility of the "movement."

The latter, however, is no fetich working miracles for our edification. The movement can be but the result of restless thought and activity on the part of individuals. It does not act from the outside inward, but from inward outside. The movement is ourselves,—you, I, and the others.

He who is alive to his time, receptive to new ideas and inspirations, will not remain stationary and inactive and complain that "there is no movement." The movement always exists, comrades, so long as we ourselves keep moving, so long as we continue our liberating efforts and develop our own personality.

Progress consists in going forward. Well, then, let us on, ever onward, without constantly stopping to look back to count how many follow. If not a majority, let us be a strong minority of independent, self-owning individuals.

* * *

IT is the earnest hope of every revolutionist and true liberty lover that Mexico will not fall into the Madero trap. Madero's clique has proclaimed "peace," ordering the people to lay down their arms. Madero is quite content with having displaced Diaz. And as for the people—they have helped him to the throne of the dictator, and now that he has made peace with the lords of land and industry, the people are commanded to go back to work, that the flow of profits into the coffers of the exploiters be no longer interfered with.

The people have done their duty: they have shed their blood and sacrificed their lives. As a reward, their best representatives, the Magónists of Lower California, are now being persecuted by the new government and massacred as bandits. But these "bandits" are the true

interpreters of the aspirations and needs of the Mexican people, and—conscious of their great mission—they are exerting most heroic efforts in resistance.

Madero and consorts are using the same infamous and fiendish methods as Diaz. Nothing is changed. They have but thinly veiled the old order of theft and murder; the face is still the same—greedy, tyrannous, cruel.

The government has altered only in name; the principles are the same. The oppressed and despoiled people can expect no benefit from such a change. What they need is Land and Liberty, and the dispossession of the robbers who have stolen it from them.

If the people of Mexico are to conquer their rights, they must march past Madero and his government and continue their fight for emancipation till the last exploiter is driven from the land.

The radical elements in the United States are awakening to a realization of the situation in Mexico. As a result a widespread movement is being initiated to aid the social revolution in that country. As in various other cities, a Mexican Revolution Conference has been formed in New York, with the object of giving moral and financial assistance to the revolutionists of Mexico. Its initial public activity will take the form of a demonstration in Cooper Union, on the 26th of June, and it is confidently expected that no liberty lover of New York and environs will fail to attend.

* * *

THE movement for a general strike, to be declared on the day McNamara et al. are put on trial, is by no means as impractical as some alleged radicals seem to believe.

True, the great body of American labor cannot be said to be imbued either with class solidarity or revolutionary consciousness. But the spirit of rebellious discontent is abroad and bitter experience is dispelling the delusion of the identity of interests between capital and labor. Slowly the realization of necessary united effort is dawning upon the workers; the hands of toil are joined in brotherly clasp, and the first lessons of effective resistance against oppression are being learned.

But a few years ago the general strike was an impos-

sible proposition in this country. Since then general strikes have taken place in the larger industrial centers with splendid results. The soil is ripening for a general strike of national, aye, of international proportions, and —no power in heaven or hell can withstand the mighty arm of the feeders of the world.

* * *

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL, Socialist and writer, has returned from his tour of Australia and New Zealand a wiser and a sadder man. He reports that the conditions there, notwithstanding the Labor Party being in power, are as oppressive, if not even more unbearable, as in other countries.

This "discovery" of Russell seems to have proved rather a shock to some Socialist party members. "We have been taught that all would be nice and lovely," they say, "when the State would take over the industries and pass labor legislation. And now—can that, too, have failed!"

That is indeed what they have been taught. The Socialist politicians have been ceaselessly shouting for State ownership and calling upon the people to send Socialists to the parliaments. *They* would show how a country should be governed.

Congressman Victor Berger is filling the waste baskets of the Federal Legislature with resolutions and bills which are as useless and misleading as the labor legislation of New Zealand and Australia. It will be interesting to note whether Russell will draw the logical and obvious conclusions from the experience of his recent tour.

* * *

IN an article published in the *New Age*, J. M. Kennedy adduces some telling arguments in criticism of Fabianism, which has always favored labor representation in Parliament. Mr. Kennedy discusses the interesting question as to why the position of the workers in England has grown worse since labor has been sending representatives to Parliament, while previously —for instance, during 1893-1899—the tendency of wages was to rise. Mr. Kennedy writes:

It was from about 1900 onwards that Labor men first thrust themselves forward in the House of Commons, and the result was a decline in wages. What, then, had the labor leaders been

doing previously to 1900 to account for a steady increase in wages from 1892 to 1899?

This is no very recondite question. In the nineties the Labor leaders had been paying attention to their proper duty, namely, the organization of trade unions, trade union funds, and, more important still from the workmen's point of view, trade union agitation. When the labor leaders left their unions for Parliament a spirit of apathy fell over the entire trade union movement. Inexperienced as these well-meaning but uninstructed Labor leaders were, they did not know, and they were slow to recognize, that what the House of Commons, or rather the Government, gave with one hand it could take away with the other.

If this statement be questioned, an instance or two will suffice to prove it. Take the bills for the Feeding of Necessitous Children. There were certain districts around London where, when these measures were applied, wages showed a decided tendency to fall. On one occasion, too, the House voted £200,000 for the relief of unemployment. This sum was duly distributed, and in the localities where it was distributed wages fell. It would be possible for me to take several similar measures, ostensibly meant for the relief of the poor, and to show that they really left the poor poorer. It would not be such a difficult task, either, to show that this result followed from Labor interference in Parliament, whereas Labor agitation through the former trade union channel would most probably have had quite the reverse effect.

Labor should beware of that much-praised political power which, in practice, easily transforms itself into economic impotence.

* * *

OUR ruling politicians feel it necessary to strengthen their popularity in due time, for next year the ballot herd is to be rounded up for the presidential campaign.

Hence the sham investigations of the trusts. The "common people," the voter, whose sheepishness seems unsurpassable, must be afforded some cheap satisfaction. This purpose the investigations serve perfectly. They gratify the voter and do no harm whatever to special privilege. Indeed, they but strengthen the power of the exploiters with new and approved "legality."

No one is so easily satisfied as the voter. Any old bone will content him.

* * *

IN times gone by no royal court was complete without its fool. He would provide merriment for the sovereign and his noble lords, and help while away their ennui. Sometimes they would array the fool in the

royal robes and seat him on the throne, with scepter and crown, and the great lords and noble ladies would amuse themselves by pretending the fool was king. "What be thy wish, Your Majesty?" they would mockingly address the poor fool, "order and we shall obey." And the lord and ladies would be convulsed with laughter.

Look at the fake sovereignty of the American people and you will find that it strongly resembles that of the poor fool, clad in the paraphernalia of majesty and brutally mocked for the amusement of the court.

* * *

THE glad tidings come from Washington that "our Nation" has money to burn. According to Treasury estimates there is now a little more than $3,237,000,000 in circulation in the United States. Since the taking of the census it is claimed that the population of Continental United States has increased to 93,844,000, on which basis it is computed that "each citizen should have $34.70."

There are numbers of needy families in the country, many of them consisting of six, seven, or eight persons. These could multiply $34.70 by the number of mouths in their family and send in their bill to the Treasury at Washington. With their share of the Nation's great wealth they could buy enough bread to feed their starving children for a good while. When there is so much loud boasting of "the Nation's wealth," every member of the Nation should participate in the good times, at least to the extent of enough food and a roof over one's head.

But what's the use? The Treasury at Washington will not pay the poor families their $34.70 share. It will not even have decency enough to inform them that the payment cannot be made because a few robber combines have secured control of the $3,237,000,000 and that their stolen booty is securely guarded by government, police, and courts.

* * *

THE exodus of wealthy Americans to the coronation of the King of England justifies the conclusion that such a spectacle would prove a howling success in America and would fill a much-felt heart's desire.

Were we a monarchy, ruled by a king, our rich patriots would not be forced to carry, with bleeding heart, their cash to England. It could remain in the country and be spent here, thus helping to boom business, as the penny-a-liner says.

Why, then, not have a king in the United States? Let's crown someone. Surely we need have no trouble to find a candidate. Nor is there far to seek. The fat man in the White House will do. In some islands of the Pacific it is the man of greatest averdupois that is chosen to be king, and this method—according to experts—is not a whit worse than any known to civilization.

* * *

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, the brave and energetic propagandist of the I. W. W., has been arrested in Philadelphia and indicted for speaking at several open-air meetings. She was freed on one charge, but another is still pending.

To preclude errors it would be advisable to amend the Constitution in such a manner as to make it quite clear that free speech is permitted only to ex-presidents, manufacturers' associations, politicians, and priests.

* * *

THE salary of W. G. Lee, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, has been raised from $7,000 to $8,000 a year.

Well done, good and faithful servant! Lee is known as one of those go-betweens of capital and labor who excel in the art of making compromises and whose services to labor consist in "arbitrating" so skilfully that the employers get the choicest meat, the workers the bones.

The generosity of labor is very touching indeed, when it grants such emoluments to the good friends of capital.

* * *

JUST before going to press we learn that Comrade C. L. James, well-known in the radical movement as one of the most intellectual Anarchists of America, died on June 3rd, at his home in Eau Claire, Wis.

The name of C. L. James is familiar to our readers from the numerous works on Anarchism and related subjects written by our deceased comrade, as well as by his contributions to MOTHER EARTH. In a letter to

a friend, the daughter of C. L. James writes: "The last thing my father wrote was what I have copied and enclose to you. It was for MOTHER EARTH. He wrote it after the doctor told him he could not recover. He was very feeble, but his mind was serene and at its best, and among other things he often spoke of MOTHER EARTH, warmly as his wont."

Owing to lack of time, a more extended appreciation of our departed Comrade must be postponed till next month.

* * *

IN the last issue we acquainted our readers with the proposal made us by Comrade M. H. Woolman in resubscription to MOTHER EARTH. Friend Woolman offered to secure 100 subscribers if we should procure, within two months from the date of the offer (April 20th) 400 new subscribers or renewals.

Our readers will be pleased to learn that Comrade Woolman's offer has stimulated our friends to increased efforts, so that 300 subscribers have already been secured. In generous recognition of the good work, Companion Woolman has extended the time another month. We believe that it is sufficient to mention this to fill our friends with the determination to achieve success.

* * *

THIS month marks the first anniversary of the Francisco Ferrer Association.

Beginning as a spontaneous gathering of a few individuals, with the temporary object of organizing a memorial meeting on the first anniversary of the martyrdom of Francisco Ferrer, the idea developed and grew into the form of the present Association. It grew—because there was need for it. And now the Association is one year old and its anniversary will be celebrated by a banquet whose purpose it is to crystallize into reality the main object of the Association: the first Modern Day School for Children in America.

All friends of libertarian education are invited to atttend the banquet which will take place June 30th at Café Boulevard. Emma Goldman, Leonard Abbott and others will discuss the various phases of modern education. Those desiring seats reserved for them at the banquet are requested to communicate with the Organizer of the F. F. A., 6 St. Marks Place.

MEXICO'S HOUR OF NEED

By Wm. C. Owen.

BEING invited to send MOTHER EARTH another article on the Mexican Revolution I begin with what is, to most people, the greatest of all arguments—the argument of success. That the revolution has been thus far an unqualified success I now submit.

Taking a four-weeks' period, from April 29 to May 27, I have gone through the records of twenty-two States and two Territories in Mexico, only four States being omitted. The summary—now being published in *Regeneración,* official organ of the Mexican Liberal Party—gives a bird's-eye view of the entire situation, and the data furnished seem to be ample for reliable conclusions.

Let me quote, as a sample, my report on Sinaloa, as it will shortly appear in *Regeneración.* It is a perfectly fair sample, and has been selected because of Sinaloa's proximity to Lower California, in which the forces of the Mexican Liberal Party are now threatened with invasion by Maderist and federal troops. The report runs as follows:

"Sinaloa. In this State, which faces the Gulf of California and lies directly south of Sonora, revolution has been busily at work. April 29 we reported that the important town of El Fuerte had been captured, the Jefe Politico advising the national guard to join the rebels. All telegraph and telephone lines within the State were then reported as having been destroyed, and electricians, being in sympathy with the revolution, had refused to repair them. The next week we learned that 700 rebels had taken Chinabampo; that the Administrator of Correos de Los Mochis had gone over to the insurrectos, taking with him $5,000 of the public funds; that Concordia had fallen, and that the valuable port of Mazatlan was besieged. Later the rebels captured another port, Topolobampo, and we noted seven other towns added to the list. It has been the invariable rule in this State, when a town is taken, to release all prisoners and burn the public records."

The full report is prefaced by a short introduction, in the course of which I say: "This paper, voicing the

convictions that inspire the Mexican Liberal Party, has insisted from the first that the land question—'Land and Liberty'—is fundamental. In this connection we invite our readers to note that, whatever the insurrectos may or may not do when they capture an important town, they almost invariably burn the records. So it was during the French Revolution. It is the instinct of the people translating itself into action at the earliest opportunity. Not a Mexican peon but knows that the land monopolist is his enemy, who strikes him through the official and the machinery of law."

That paragraph is reproduced as expressing my conviction that the Mexican Revolution is spontaneous; proceeding from the bosom of the people; engendered by their economic needs and social aspirations; absolutely apart from the political ambitions of Madero and other representatives of privilege.

In MOTHER EARTH one is addressing readers not unacquainted with the history of economic revolutions, and none such can read the story of Mexico's struggle, as we are relating it week by week in *Regeneración,* without noticing that it has every one of the earmarks that characterized such upheavals as the French and Russian revolutions.

Kropotkin has shown that the French Revolution wrought itself out, not in the Parisian assembly halls, or by the much-quoted speeches of Mirabeau, Robespierre, and Danton, but on the estates of the feudal nobility; by the direct action of the serfs. So it is in Mexico to-day. In the almost invariable burning of the records; in the not infrequent execution of public officials; in the leaderless uprisings of plantation serfs and the constant multiplication of guerilla bands, is to be read the true story of the Mexican Revolution.

Obviously, it is an agrarian uprising; the instinct of an entire nation prompting it to recover, by all and every means, the broad and rich domain filched from beneath its feet. For the hundredth time I emphasize my conviction that the simpler nations—living close to nature and not having lost their grip of elemental facts—invariably start these revolutions and fight them to the bitter end. That in the past they have been cheated of

the fruits of victory has been due to their careless confidence in politicians of the Madero type.

Surely, since the days of the French Revolution, economic education must have advanced! Surely the tireless repetition for generations, by Socialists, Anarchists, and all radicals, of such simple truths as that "economic dependence is the basis of all slavery" must have left its mark! Surely we shall not sit idly by while another struggle for human emancipation is drowned in blood!

The Mexican Liberal Party has not made this revolution; could not have made it. That, however, it has interpreted the revolution correctly I have no doubt. That it will fight to the last ditch to prevent the people from being cheated of their victory I know.

May 26 the United Press circulated a despatch which said: "Gen. Viljoen (one of Madero's chief lieutenants) declared that he would start in a few days to bring the Lower California insurrectos to terms. I understand," he said, "that there are about seven hundred men in the Socialist army. I will take about two hundred men from here, with three machine guns, and will pick up the other necessary troops en route."

This we expect; for to a policy of remorseless repression the new dictators who have stepped into Diaz' shoes stand fully committed. It is now that they are beginning to throw the real fat into the fire.

TRUE LIBERTY

LIBERTY! Glorious word! Meaning not merely the absence of the grosser oppressions of kings and aristocrats, but the full freedom of personal manhood—the right to use and develop and enjoy all the manifold faculties, powers, qualities and opportunities so bountifully bestowed on man.

JOHN SWINTON.

A BANKRUPT LABOR PARADISE

By MAX BAGINSKI.

WITH great flourish of trumpets State Socialists and reformers have been proclaiming to the world during the last decade the wonderful conditions that obtained in Australia and New Zealand. There, they said, was the new Mecca; there the new paradise was established in which enlightened governmental wisdom achieved social and economic peace between capital and labor. While in the countries of Europe and America the struggle of the disinherited against their oppressors was growing in extent and intensity, only messages of peace were heralded from Australia and New Zealand. All strife had been allayed there, all differences smoothed out, by wise governmental regulation. The State—the reformers claimed—had achieved there its "real mission," which consisted in "harmonizing" by regulation and statute antagonistic interests, to the equal satisfaction of the exploiters and their victims.

Superficial enthusiasts must now give up this beautiful dream, since in this very Australia and New Zealand opposition is steadily growing against this alleged mission of the State, and the people are waking to rebellion against the artificial pacification. The crafty plans of the ruling Labor party have been punctured, in spite of the circumstance that thus far that party controls a majority at the polls. Let us see what this régime has accomplished.

First of all, the "disturbing factor" of strikes was sought to be removed. Compulsory arbitration boards were established and severe laws passed for the punishment of labor bodies that dared to strike in defiance of the decisions of the arbitration boards. The workers were held financially and legally responsible for the struggles waged against capital without permission of the State authorities. The place of economic warfare was taken by the jurisdiction of the compulsory arbitration courts. But as these usually left the workers at the mercy of capital, there gradually grew up among the more progressive elements strong opposition, which

is continually gaining strength in spite of the legal persecutions and persistent attempts at suppression.

Under the protection of the reform government the workers of Australia and New Zealand have now reached the level of labor conditions in England and other countries at the beginning of the capitalist era, when strikes were looked upon as conspiracies and punished as such. The only difference is that the toilers of those days felt themselves helpless subjects of the arbitrary power of their masters, while the workers of Australia and New Zealand have been deluded into the belief that they mould their own destiny through the ballot box. Fortunately, however, there are exceptions. Some labor leaders there are who are honest and intelligent enough to see through the cruel farce and who refuse to participate in this enslavement of labor. They devote their energies to the enlightenment and revolutionizing of the masses at the risk of liberty and life. On various occasions some of the larger strikes have been brutally suppressed by the armed hand of the authorities, and the best representatives of labor condemned to long imprisonment,—all in the name of establishing social peace!

We now witness labor conditions in Australia and New Zealand under which the toilers are subjected to a straightjacket bound more tightly than is the case in any other country. This despotism with State Socialistic tendencies is the faithful lackey of capital in a greater degree than any government of Europe or America.

The Anarchists have all along predicted the bankruptcy of the labor paradise, for they know that under the economic mastery of the possessing class *every* government, whatever its form, must prove the political handmaid of the exploiters. Has not St. Marx himself said that political institutions are but the reflex of economic conditions? If that be so, what folly, what deceit it is to make the workers believe that their condition can be changed, or improved, through the ballot, parliaments, or government regulation.

Reasoning this thought out further, the Social Democrats of America could well profit by the lesson of Australia. Those who are so enthused with admiration and

filled with hope regarding the numerous bills and proposals submitted by Representative Berger to Congress, should take to heart the tragic failure of labor legislation in Australia and New Zealand.

In the busted labor paradise of those countries no disturbing finger was laid upon the economic foundation of exploitation. There was no idea of attacking wage slavery; no notion whatever that the land and the fruits of labor should belong to the producers instead of being monopolized by the non-producing class. What actually was attempted was this: leaving the ground-work of exploitation and oppression perfectly intact, all energies were bent upon devising political and legal schemes for disguising the evil results of our social system of inequality and injustice. With harmony as their motto, the politicians were busily forging new chains for the people, and when the latter finally lay helpless on the ground, securely bound by the strong fetters of legislative regulation and restriction, the masters triumphantly cried, See how peacefully and harmoniously we live in this reform State!

The power of the ruling class results from the wealth wrung from the life and blood of the toilers. If the latter are to achieve emancipation, they must refuse to give up the riches they create. To make this refusal effective, and to initiate the era of economic and social equality, economic warfare is of absolute necessity, culminating in the final revolutionary general strike. Political or legal palliatives, à la Australia and New Zealand, but serve to obscure this aim and delay its accomplishment.

This lesson the workers of Australia, and the international proletariat in general, will sooner or later learn from the experience of State Socialism applied.

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

NO MASTER

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

Saith man to man, We've heard and known
That we no master need
To live upon this earth, our own,
In fair and manly deed;
The grief of slaves long passed away
For us hath forged the chain,
Till now each worker's patient day
Builds up the House of Pain.

And we, shall we too crouch and quail,
Ashamed, afraid of strife;
And lest our lives untimely fail
Embrace the death in life?
Nay, cry aloud and have no fear;
We few against the world;
Awake, arise! the hope we bear
Against the curse is hurl'd.

It grows, it grows: are we the same,
The feeble band, the few?
Or what are these with eyes aflame,
And hands to deal and do?
This is the host that bears the word,
No Master, High or Low,
A lightning flame, a shearing sword,
A storm to overthrow.

ON THE TRAIL

WERE I to wait until I could do justice to our experience on the Trail since I wrote last, I should have to tax the patience of our readers for another month.

Like life, the Trail is full of events rather unimportant when reported in cold type; yet to those that trail along the precipice every little turn or depression may prove fatal. And though it is always the great and rare moment which discovers character, real strength and perseverance are manifested much more in the slow, tedious grind of life. The last two months have amply corroborated the adage, "Where there's a will, there's a way."

KANSAS, like Boston, thrives on its past glory. Historically Kansas claims a place amongst the freest and most progressive States. Did it not give John Brown to America? Did not free thought ever unfurl its banner there? Did not the clarion voice of our own sweet Moses Harman resound through Kansas State? But to-day one looks in vain for a ray of light: all is dead and dark in Kansas, the graveyard of a great past.

One can explain the degeneracy of an individual much more easily than that of a city. But I think that the two factors that have performed the funeral rites over progress in Kansas are the Church and Prohibition. Go to any city in America where these two poisons thrive, and you will find all else dead. Absolute lack of interest in modern ideas, smugness, and cold self-sufficiency are the characteristics of Kansas City, Topeka, Leavenworth, and Wichita, as no doubt of most other Kansas towns.

The exception to this galaxy of dulness is LAWRENCE, the University seat. Not that it would suffer from expansion, but compared with the rest of Kansas, Lawrence is indeed broad. At least the people are willing to admit that they may not have yet reached perfection.

The "Good Government Club," a body of law students, actually proved brave enough to invite the terrible Anarchist for a lecture. "Why laws fail" was the topic of the address, which was followed by an interesting and lively discussion.

Our own meetings of the afternoon and evening brought large audiences, among them a professor of bot-

any who helped to make the evening meeting an exciting affair. The good professor who, as I am told, is unusually frank in his lectures on plant life, almost went into hysterics because I insisted on a free discussion of human life. Such is the logic of American professors whose Puritanic training distorts with sickly hue the facts of our existence.

But for Lawrence we may have spared ourselves the Trail through Kansas. That city, however, justified the hard and faithful work done by our good comrade Fred Young, who arranged the meetings in all the Kansas towns visited by us.

The poorly attended lectures in KANSAS CITY, MO., may have been partly due to the bad weather during that April week, but much more so to the contagion close at hand,—the narrow spirit of the State of Kansas.

DENVER continues to be the sanitarium for numerous victims of civilization, for the men and women who come here from all parts of the country, in a last desperate effort to regain health. Naturally absorbed in themselves, they care little for the great burning questions of the day. But one subject there is—the sex problem—which is a tremendous drawing card in Denver. Perhaps it is because ebbing vitality clings tenaciously to the stem of life.

The lecture on "Victims of Morality" jammed the hall far beyond its capacity. Sex, like hunger, knows no class; hence every social stratum was represented. The other meetings were less successful, in spite of the best efforts of Comrades Spanier, Horowitch, and Citron, who had spared no pains in the preliminary arrangements.

Whatever may be said against the Mormons, there is a breadth and freedom about SALT LAKE CITY which is sadly lacking in most American towns. Nature herself seems to have been partial to the stronghold of Brigham Young. Certainly no other city, with the possible exception of Seattle, can compare in scenic grandeur and vastness with the city on Salt Lake. It is inspiring, and gives one a sense of infinity.

William Thurston Brown was the manager of the meetings. He also arranged a debate with one Murray King, a Socialist, who developed chills at the last mo-

ment and had to be replaced by a comrade of his, an earnest but ill-informed class-conscious friend.

Mr. King added impudence to cowardice when he declared in the press that he "would not debate with Emma Goldman because she is an immoral woman who consorts with a criminal like Alexander Berkman." Yet that very afternoon this same Mr. King sent his emissaries to tell me that he would debate if I would pay half the expenses and turn over half the proceeds to him. Physical deformity is indeed a terrible affliction, but to be born a mental cripple is too sad for words.

Alas, the Socialist party is full of Murray Kings. It seems unable to endure even ordinary common decency within its ranks. Thus, for instance, William Thurston Brown, who has given twelve years of his life to the party, has been thrust aside because he would not sink his revolutionary principles in the mire of Socialist politics, and because he dared to think and say that the Modern School—preparing the child for a new life—will prove a more effectual weapon against our system than office-seeking. Because of this defiance of party discipline Brown was refused the list of locals when he tried to arrange a lecture tour on the Coast in behalf of the Modern School. Blackmailing edicts preceded him, causing the failure of most of his meetings.

One can readily forecast the chances any free spirit would have when the Murray Kings and his kind are in the political saddle.

Our meetings in Salt Lake City would have passed pleasantly and without much excitement, if not for the "Bnai Brith" who refused us their hall at the last minute. How pathetic that the slaves of yesterday should become the slave drivers of to-day. With Chirikov I feel that wherever the Jews have gained so-called privileges, it was accomplished at the expense of their souls. Especially do the German and French Jews in America vie with each other to hide their identity beneath the cast-off tatters of their "gracious hosts."

CALIFORNIA, thou ever young and beautiful golden West, there is strength in thine arms and fire in thy blood. No wonder thou continuest to be the irresistible temptress of men. Virile of limb and alert of mind,

California is fast becoming the arena where the modern gladiator Labor is preparing for the coming contest.

SAN FRANCISCO, the great battle ground, is growing ever more defiant and rebellious. But that Los Angeles would join the race is more than the most sanguine would have expected. Two years ago Los Angeles was a health resort for parasites and cranks, a city that consisted almost entirely of tourists, without any personality of its own. The eternal spirit of revolution and the solidarity of labor have transformed the sickly hothouse flower into a rugged wild plant with its branches reaching out for more light and freedom,—sturdy, defiant Labor facing a deadly reptile, the conspiracy of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, with Czar Otis as its dictator and the Burns detective agency as its tool. Indeed Labor needs to be defiant to meet this hydra-headed monster.

Dear Comrades of 1887, Parsons, Spies, Lingg, Engel, and Fischer! At last, after twenty-four years, your precious blood is acting as a leaven for your American brothers. Never before, not even during the dastardly conspiracy of 1903, has your silence in Waldheim spoken so loudly as it does now in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Never before did it find such response, such profound appreciation.

Even the enemy realizes the power of this silence. The same enemy that strangled our brothers is now preparing to repeat the orgy. The same, and yet how different! The Garys, the Grinnells, the Bonfields, and Schaacks are the same, transplanted from Chicago to Los Angeles. The Judas Iscariot is the same; so is the lying press. The same insatiable desire for the pound of flesh, the same infamous methods, the same barbaric man-hunt. Everything is the same, except one thing: the workers have grown older, wiser, firmer, and more imbued with the spirit of solidarity. And capital is aware of that; it knows that it will never again be able to repeat the black crime of the 11th of November, 1887. Dear Comrades, your heroic death has not been in vain!

The eternal spirit of revolution manifesting itself in the labor struggle on the Coast has been reinforced by a spirit still greater in scope and more forcible in ex-

pression from across the borderline,—the Revolution in Mexico, the most pregnant event of our day.

Let no one be deceived by a lying press which aims to make of that great uprising a mere political squabble. No, no; it is the outraged, exploited, and defiled peon waking to manhood. It is the long-suffering victim of money and power who now

Sings a song that starts you up astounded from your slumbrous seats,
Until your heart—your craven heart—your traitor heart—with terror beats!

"Land and Liberty" is the battle cry of the Mexican rebels. What greater, what sublimer cause to kindle the fire of rebellion. What grander cause, deserving the support of all true revolutionists!

Yet so all-pervading is the poison of the press that people who should know better are influenced by it and remain indifferent in the face of this greatest uprising of our time.

I wish I had the eloquence of a Camille Desmoulin, or the pen of a Marat, that I could convey the spirit and the devotion which animates the heroic efforts of the Mexican rebels. I am sure no one could then fail to realize that, whatever the beginning of the Revolution or its end, it has gone beyond all political consideration, straight to the goal of economic emancipation,—Land and Liberty!

It is this grand aspiration that inspires such sublime abandonment as is manifested by the Mexican rebels, and especially by that group of men that mirrors the very soul of the struggle: Ricardo and Enrique Magón, and their co-workers of the Liberal Junta. Is so much energy, almost superhuman in its endurance, such glorious devotion, such wonderful perseverance to be drowned in blood by the Madero-Taft combine, or are the Mexicans to throw off their terrible yoke? The answer greatly depends on the workers, the radical elements, and especially the revolutionists of America; on each of us who represents the revolutionary traditions of the past rests the grave responsibility for the failure or victory of the Mexican Revolution.

'Tis therefore I will be—and lead the people yet your hosts to meet,
And on your necks, your heads, your crowns, will plant my strong, resistless feet!

With such great forces at work in Southern California, it is not at all surprising that the very psychology of Los Angeles should have undergone such a marvelous change. No more of the silly, superficial dabbling in non-essentials. The eternal spirit of revolution, the general strike, direct versus political action—these are the questions most at heart to the people of California; nothing else matters.

The Coast has always proven staunch, but it has far surpassed itself this time. Eleven meetings in Los Angeles, eight meetings and a debate in San Francisco, all attracted immense crowds and filled the audiences with so much earnestness and enthusiasm as to reconcile one to all the pains and travail of the Trail. The debate was of particular significance because it is the first time that the Labor Temple of San Francisco opened its door to the voice of Anarchism; also because my opponent, Mr. McDevitt, is the only Socialist antagonist on my present tour who knew his text-books and even a little of Anarchism.

Two meetings in SAN DIEGO and two in FRESNO, added to those of Los Angeles and San Francisco, mark the great events of our long and weary tour. Great in point of attendance as well as in the output of literature, and even in the reception given us; but greatest of all in the inspiration, in the courage and hope instilled by the indestructible, never-dying spirit of rebellion. It seems to have roused to new life the very best in every one, since all worked with such wonderful zeal and devotion. Our comrades in Los Angeles, Owen, Cravello, Riddle, Wirth, and others, did their full share in helping with the meetings. Dear, faithful old John Kassel, of San Francisco, ever on deck; Briesen, Belinsky, and hosts of others no less active; then Ernst Besselman, untiring and earnest; E. E. Kirk, my kind host, and—I wish I could mention them all, but I have already taken up too much space.

California, thou ever young and beautiful golden West! There is strength in thine embrace and fire in thy blood. I have tasted both and am well prepared to face the Trail to the end. EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE IDEAL OF LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION

BY LEONARD ABBOTT.

WILLIAM MORRIS, in his "News from Nowhere," turns the children of his ideal land out of doors, and lets their education begin and end there. He had the right idea, but he probably would have been the last to insist on its being literally carried out. He knew, as we all know, that Mother Earth nourishes us and that we need the freedom of her ample spaces; but he also knew that we need just as much the mental and emotional development which comes in its fulness only as the result of persistent training and self-discipline.

The central idea of the new "libertarian" education for which Tolstoy and Sebastien Faure have worked, and in behalf of which Francisco Ferrer has died, is that the emphasis in education shall rest on the "drawing out" of the authentic nature of the child. In our schools to-day, as a rule, just the opposite principle is recognized. The object of the teacher is too often to impose something on the child, to stifle the pupil's real individuality, to make children as much alike as possible. All this must be changed.

I watched Alexander Berkman conduct a class of boys and girls in the Ferrer Center, at 6 Saint Mark's Place, New York, not long ago. The subjects discussed were of an economic nature. The method pursued was absolutely libertarian. Mr. Berkman guided the pupils, but he did not dogmatize. He concentrated all his efforts on stimulating the thoughts of the children, and on leading them to express themselves as clearly as possible. Every child was keenly alive, and every child had something to say. The study, instead of being drudgery, was a pleasure and a fascination to all. I was deeply impressed by the possibilities of the libertarian method.

It requires a kind of a genius to be a good teacher in the libertarian sense. All one's faculties and intuitions must be on the alert. One must learn to respond instantly, and with an artist's sensitiveness, to the different temperaments and moods of the children. The whole purpose of education becomes one of vitalizing the child-

nature, of getting at the *true* nature beneath the appearances that so often cloud it.

So far from trying to make children alike, the new educator will welcome and develop their infinite differences. He will know that what the world needs most is what it lacks most—individuality. As Ellen Key well says: "Conservatism is for the present stronger in mankind than the effort to produce new types. But this last characteristic is the most valuable. The educator should do anything but advise the child to do what everybody does. He should rather rejoice when he sees in the child tendencies to deviation."

To-day in our schools, children are taught to blindly revere the government and the flag under which they happen to live. They are taught that it is honorable to be a soldier. They are taught to admire the capitalist system of industry. The children of the free schools of the future will be taught to reason about all these things, and will end by wanting to change them. For at heart most children are idealists.

The teachers of the new libertarian schools will feel ashamed to hoodwink children. They will give their fealty to truth. They will treat their pupils straightforwardly. When boys and girls ask their first questions about sex, they should be answered truthfully. When they try to delve into the mysteries of life and religion, they should be guided honestly and not be blinded with superstitions. Miss Jessie Sampter, in a recent American book, "The Seekers," has shown how it is possible to initiate quite young and immature minds into the subtleties of philosophy.

Above all, children in schools should not be coerced and bullied. Revengeful punishment, based on the idea of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," is as out of date in the class-room as in the prison. Corporal punishment should be abandoned. Each child and its deficiencies should be regarded as a separate problem, to be molded by psychic methods, by firmness, by kindness and example, not by punishment.

Prof. John Dewey's "School and Society" is the best manual of libertarian education so far published in America. He himself carried on for several years in Chicago an elementary school, and he gives in his book

some of the results of the experiment. The children taught ranged between the ages of four and thirteen.

An important part of his system was manual training. There were three main lines regularly pursued—shop work with wood and tools, cooking work, and work with textiles, sewing and weaving. "These practical occupations," he says, "make a background for the later studies. The children get a good deal of chemistry in connection with cooking, of number and geometrical principles in carpentry, and a good deal of geography in connection with their theoretical work in weaving and sewing."

On the theoretical side, sociology, history, science and art were the pillars of Professor Dewey's system. The younger children began with the home and occupations of the home. Then they were led to study occupations outside the home, the larger social industries—farming, mining, lumber, etc.—that they might see the complex and various industries on which life depends, while incidentally they investigated the use of various materials—woods, metals and the processes applied—thus getting a beginning of scientific study. The next year was given to the historical development of industry and invention, starting with man as a savage and carrying him through the typical phases of his progress upward, until the iron age was reached and man began to enter upon a civilized career. "The object of the study of primitive life," comments Professor Dewey, "is not to keep the child interested in lower and relatively savage states, but to show him the steps of progress and development, especially along the line of invention, by which man was led into civilization. There is a certain nearness, after all, in the child to primitive forms of life. They are much more simple than existing institutions." The next years were devoted to American, Greek and Roman history.

In science, the first two or three years were used to cultivate the children's power of observation, to lead them to sympathetic interest in the habits of plants and animals, and to help them look at things with reference to their uses. Then the center of the work became geographcal—the study of the earth, as the most central thing. From this almost all the work grew out,

and to it the work went back. Some time, for instance, was spent on electricity, based on the telegraph and the telephone; and in mechanics, locks and clocks were studied with reference to the adaptation of the various parts of the machinery.

Alongside of the sociological, scientific and historical studies went on the classes in music and in art. Thus the emotional and esthetic, no less than the intellectual, aspects of the child-nature were stimulated and developed.

On the moral side, that of so-called discipline and order, the ideal was to approximate the best form of family life rather than a rigid graded school. Since the classes were small, the most intimate personal acquaintance of child and teacher was possible. If more than the usual amount of freedom was allowed the children, it was not, says Professor Dewey, in order to relax or decrease real discipline, but because "larger and less artificial responsibilities would thus be required of the children, and their entire development of body and spirit be more harmonious and complete."

Schools such as those sketched out by Professor Dewey should be started all over the country. The time is ripe for a new impulse in radical education. For many years, Mr. and Mrs. Ferm have been carrying on a libertarian school in New York. The "Arbeiter Ring" has done considerable work along this line. A Ferrer school has been started in Philadelphia, and efforts are being made to open new schools in several American cities. The Francisco Ferrer Association is dedicated to this cause. Its plans deserve the support of radicals of every affiliation.

ANARCHY—Absence of government; disbelief in, and disregard of, invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government.

FREE COMMUNISM—Voluntary economic co-operation of all towards the needs of each. A social arrangement based on the principle: To each according to his needs; from each according to his ability.

ECONOMY AS VIEWED BY AN ANARCHIST

By C. L. JAMES.

(*Continuation.*)

As suicidal Plunder works out its destruction, these rates of Profit remain—the Speculative, usually attended with great risk, and largely consisting in Assurance, the ordinary—a little more than Economic Interest, and the certain—Commercial Interest.

Rent arises, we have said, and we may see in India, like usury; that is to say, it was originally nothing but a form of robbery. The conquerors stripped the cultivators of all they could get except a minimum which, ignorant barbarians though they were, they perceived was needed to keep agriculture from ceasing. It proved actually too little; and accordingly, in the progressive countries, rent, we shall see at more length, has for some centuries been gravitating towards what Ricardo, forgetting plunder by coöperating tyrants, thought it needs must be,—the surplus yield of good land, approximately equal to commercial interest on the estimated value. (Roscher has shown that the equation is not exact, owing mostly to that exaggerated value set on land by cranks and speculators, of which we have made mention: but it is in the main correct—thus, in England, where the rate of commercial interest is [about] five per cent., twenty years' free use of land is held as good as the fee simple.) I need scarcely remark that the rate of interest fixed by the demands of speculators is that which every borrower must pay except in peculiar cases. If his situation be desperate, robber-interest may still be exacted from him by usurers of a class adapted to their clients; but the common borrower on security of property or a good financial name can obtain loans at the commercial rate; and he must pay that, because those who have money to lend know they can invest it as well with agents or middlemen who act for speculators.

17. Such, cleared of questionable dogmas and unintelligible language, appear to me the *statics*—the definitions and first principles—of economic science.

From them we can deduce the dynamical laws of the subject, which, we shall also find, are illustrated by the actual history of economic progress. As before, we begin with the laws of Consumption. The first law of Consumption evidently is that the consumers must have food sufficient to sustain (1) life, (2) propagation, and (3) their previous rate of production. (The alternative is that they perish, which is not at all impossible, but is immaterial to our inquiry because it takes them out of the economic aggregate). The second law of consumption is that the number of consumers tends to increase. Observe, this is not to say that it does increase. It tends to increase,—that is it would do so if the consumers had as many children as their passions incline them to engender, and if all the children lived out the normal time. As a rule, to be sure, it does increase. But it can do so only on condition that food increases sufficiently to satisfy the more imperative first law. If that be not the case, increase of population is stopped by various Checks, which resolve themselves into two kinds—Positive, raising the death-rate, and Preventive, lowering the birth-rate. Nor is it necessary that there should be actual starvation in order to set the Positive Check at work. Most people die prematurely. Any lowering in the standard of comfort, not only actual, but even impending as a result of increase, will raise the death-rate, by inducing (1) famine, (2) pestilence, (3) vices, like the desperate intemperance so common in low social strata where cheap liquor acts as a temporary substitute for dearer food, or, most common of all, (4) war. The true *tetcrrima causa belli*, we shall see abundantly illustrated in history, is not love, as the Latin poet would have it, but distress, actual or apprehended. Barbarians fight because they are hungry; more advanced nations because they fear they will be if they do not secure economic advantages for which other nations are their competitors. Not understanding these distinctions is an extremely common blunder, and a plentiful source of others. The third law of Consumption, then, is that the first will stop operation of the second, unless something else does, or unless food is increased proportionally to the

number of consumers. The fourth law, partly empirical, but founded on good statistics, is the law of Malthus. The birth rate is too high to continue without invoking the Positive Check on increase; therefore the operation of the Positive Check—the double agony of undesirable births and premature deaths—can be lessened only by inviting the Preventive, or having fewer births. As I have already given this subject a paper in MOTHER EARTH, I will only remind the reader that such suggestions as the times being indefinitely distant or that the food-supply is capable of indefinite increase, are ignorant nonsense. The time is the present and the past. It always was the present. And the increase of one Adam and Eve, at the Colonial rate of America, would, not in geologic æons, but in less time than has elapsed since the dissolution of the Roman Empire, stock the world beyond all possibility of finding food or even standing room,—if it did not encounter such positive checks as war, famine, pestilence, misery and vice in less degrees, which, of course, therefore, it soon must. The fifth law of consumption is the law of human progress. War makes conquest. Conquest makes leisure. Leisure induces new desires, which imply that that of food is less pressing, and render that of sex more controllable. Fear of remote consequences, reaction from the excesses of idle luxury, ambition to rise in life or do good work, induce the Preventive Check of sexual moderation, at first among the dominant class: but by degrees they extend to the subject class. For the latter, always threatened with actual starvation by the rapacity of the other, holds very tenaciously to every security for life it may have acquired. It will not have its standard of comfort reduced. It learns, slowly and spasmodically, but it does learn, every method, such as delay of marriage, combination, strikes, coöperation, by which it can improve its means of defense. Thus, by a series of accidents, often very terrible in themselves, but ultimately beneficial, have mankind advanced from the lowest savage state to their present degree of knowledge, morals, and wealth. By this change the upper class has gained the more absolutely; but the lower

has gained more relatively—the difference between an English gentleman and an African king is greater than that between a cannibal and such a proletaire as the murderer Burke; but even a landlord in Ireland can be no such despot to his tenants as the King of Ashantee to his subjects. How far application of this law has been extended by Darwin, how radically it has changed our conceptions of Biology, History, Ethics, and Theology, and how absurd, therefore, are attacks upon it in the usual temper of Malthus refuters, as if Gibraltar could be overthrown with a popgun, ought really, on reflection, to be pretty evident.

18. The laws of Production are founded on those of Consumption. The first is that Production is limited by Consumption, which is its Final Cause. The second law is that Production is limited by the bounty of Nature, or by Land, which is its Material Cause. The third is that Production is limited by Labor, its Efficient Cause. In other words, scarcity of Labor—that is, of men—where population is thin or the number of idlers inordinate, as it is in Egypt; scarcity of Land, where the population is redundant; or scarcity of Demand, where ignorance makes a rude population, like the Anglo-Saxons, abundantly content with beef and beer; will, all or any of them, prevent Production from immediately rising above a certain point? The Fourth Law of Production might, with much regard to logic, be stated thus. Production is limited by knowledge (skill), which is its Formal Cause. But there is another way of putting the matter, which I prefer, because the first three laws of Production, especially the second, have been made to sound rather pessimistic; while the Fourth is encouraging. It is that Production increases with Consumption. With Demand, indeed, it cannot be uniformly increased. No labor, whether directly or indirectly offered, will perform impossibilities, such as squaring the circle, constructing a perpetual motion, increasing the lift without lessening the speed, or producing food enough to sustain forever a population increasing at the maximum rate. But it is not more certain that Supply is wholly created by Demand than that it generates Demand in turn. As acorns produce oaks and oaks acorns, so Demand and Supply

forever reproduce each other—the satisfaction of primary desires at once kindling new, which increases Production, which increases Consumption, and so on forever. Thus the world grows richer. But with the increase of W. P. W., which makes it so, Parsimony, aiming not to be absolutely, but relatively richer, interferes. It checks increase of the world's wealth that parsimonious individuals may grow rich faster than their neighbors; and "a penny saved" is literally "two pence lost."[20] For this the thriftless have certainly no ground of holding themselves indebted to the thrifty. Happily, however, neither ambition to be rich by making others poor, nor that praise of thrift which is among anodynes employed to keep the vulgar quiet in their proper stations, avail to prevent the Law of Progress from taking effect. The standard of comfort rises. The title of "miser," bestowed on those who do not live up to the standard, becomes more odious; and misers become rarer in every generation.

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[20]That the penny does not (now) go into a buried flower-pot, but a bank, which soon restores it to circulation, is only a mitigating circumstance. That it is taken out of circulation at all means that two producers lose the benefit of it for a longer or shorter time.

(To be continued.)

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